



COUNTERPOINT

A Periodic Newsletter On Soviet Active Measures

VOL. 1 NO. 4

JULY 1985

MOSCOW AND TECHNOLOGY TRANSFER

In recent months the Soviet Union has increasingly attacked Western attempts to control the flow of strategic technology to the East. Moscow is using three separate arguments in a subtle campaign, based largely on disinformation, to persuade both manufacturers and exporters to COCOM (the Coordinating Committee for Multilateral Export Controls) or COCOM influenced countries to circumvent the easily broken rules. These three arguments are:

- the Soviet defence industry does not require Western technology to succeed and therefore no technology is really sensitive;
- the United States is using COCOM to undermine the economies of its allies;
- the U.S. as part of its Cold War against the Warsaw Pact is "working for paralysis of East-West trade."

Expert examination of these arguments reveals the following picture:

1. The Soviets assert that not only are the COCOM restrictions excessive they are also foolish. The Soviet Union, they would have us believe, is perfectly capable of achieving even the most advanced technology without Western help. According to this argument, there is no such thing as 'sensitive' technology. As Gury Marchuk, Chairman of the Soviet State Committee for Science and Technology (GKNT), declared in a TASS interview, "The USSR, with its vast scientific, technical and economic potential, has always ensured the prompt development of advanced sectors of industry and the economy."

Moscow's own documents, however, give the lie to these assertions. During the first week of April, *Le Monde* and the French state television channel publicized the contents of uniquely important official Soviet, mainly KGB, documents that had fallen into their hands. These documents indicate that for the year 1979 the Soviet Ministry of Aviation alone saved 48.6 million rubles by stealing technical secrets from the West.

The French television programme *Infovision* of April 4, 1985, provided even firmer evidence of the magnitude of Russian dependence on the West. The programme exposed the contents of Russian documents which revealed that Soviet exploitation of Western aircraft data was most useful in accelerating the development of the MIG29 and SU27 fighters. The Soviet Union especially valued Western information that aided landing and take-off from aircraft carriers (a relatively new weapon system for the Soviets) as well as development of the maritime missile type T-19.

Moscow justified technological piracy to themselves by noting that its own research is "too compartmented and bureaucratic. Too many functionaries must approve R & D programmes. It is quicker and cheaper to 'borrow' from the West." The Russian official estimate was that the USSR saved 406 million rubles in 1982 by utilizing equipment or information obtained illegally from the West.

Predictably, Moscow's complaints about

the West halted for a while following the revelations in Paris concerning the depth and breadth of the Soviet espionage effort. The Russian Embassy in Paris protested against alleged attempts to upset Franco-Soviet trade. Radio Moscow attacked *Le Monde* for publishing "twaddle" on Soviet economic espionage, without challenging

the substance of the article, which included reproductions of official Soviet documents celebrating the extent of Soviet technical espionage.

2 At the time of the February COMECON meeting in Paris, both Moscow Radio and *Izvestiya* charged that the true motive behind technology embargoes was not to



THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
Washington, D.C. 20230

Name SPECIAL PRESIDENTIAL WORKING GROUP
ON STRATEGIC ECONOMIC POLICY

SECRET

Date February 18, 1982

Recommendations of the Special Presidential Working Group on Strategic Economic Policy. Membership as follows:

Department of Commerce

Malcolm Baldrige, Secretary of Commerce
Lionel H. Olmer, Under Secretary for International Trade
Robert G. Dederick, Assistant Secretary
Raymond J. Waldman, Assistant Secretary
Thomas Collamore, Confidential Assistant to the Secretary
Eugene K. Lawson, Deputy Assistant Secretary

Central Intelligence Agency

Maurice Ernst, Director, Office of Economic Research
Martin Kohn, Deputy Director, Office of Economic Research

Department of State

Ernest B. Johnston, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Nicholas Sr. Platt, Deputy Assistant Secretary
Gordon L. Streab, Deputy Assistant Secretary
William B. Milam, Director, Department of International Finance and Development

Department of Treasury

Marc E. Leland, Assistant Secretary
William E. Escobar, Director, Office East-West Economic Policy

In order to carry out the strategic objectives of our global policy we view as desirable to submit for the approval of the President, the following concept of our economic policy:

Within the sanctions imposed upon the Soviet Union by the United States and consequently by our Western European Allies, we propose undertaking actions, whose objective would be the definite severance of the gas pipeline contract between the Soviet Union and some of our Western

hurt the Soviet Union at all, but rather to bring the economies of America's NATO allies 'to their knees'. Obviously, Moscow hopes to convince the Western business community that embargoes are merely a ploy to disrupt the European economies while bolstering the dollar. Such a state of mistrust will make it easier to persuade Western businesses to circumvent COCOM restrictions.

To support this disinformation campaign against COCOM, a forgery of a letter, purporting to be from the US Department of Commerce and requesting disclosure of their technology exports to Eastern Bloc states, was mailed to numerous West German companies last November. According to the security authorities, the letter, which specifically queried business practices, was intended to produce distrust and mistrust vis-à-vis the United States in West German industrial circles.

Similar overt campaigns have been aimed at the Western business community in the past. In May 1982, a fairly sophisticated forgery, reproduced opposite, was circulated to coincide with the Versailles Economic Summit. It was anonymously mailed to several foreign correspondents in Brussels. The document purports to be a three-page memorandum from the US Secretary of Commerce reporting the recommendations of an inter-agency 'Working Group on Strategic Economic Policy'. These recommendations consist of a number of actions designed to improve US economic health by undermining the economies of their trading partners in Western Europe.

There are several technical errors in the body of the memorandum: the name of the Secretary of Commerce is misspelled; there are format errors in the composition of the memo, and there are representatives to the Working Group from nonexistent organizations. The forgery also includes some linguistic errors that would not be

made by a native English speaker.

Although it is impossible to determine the precise origin of the forgery, it is believed to be either Soviet-instigated or Soviet-made.

3 For those who have their doubts, Moscow offers another choice: the governments of the West are trying to stop East-West trade and return to the bad old days of the Cold War. For their attack on COCOM as a creature of the Cold War, the Soviets have resuscitated the imagery and vocabulary of the 1950s. On May 15 *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* asserted that since COCOM is affiliated with NATO, Truman was its 'godfather'. *Sotsialisticheskaya Industriya* also described COCOM as a "tool of transatlantic diktat".

As West Germany is the USSR's largest trading partner in the West, a particular focus in this campaign was to defend Soviet-German trade and to urge independence from such a 'diktat'. On August 23 1984 (the 45th anniversary of the agreement between the USSR and Nazi Germany to attack Poland, divide Eastern Europe, and establish trade concessions on both sides), *Izvestiya* mounted a strong defence of West Germany's right to trade with the USSR, accusing the US of "essentially working towards the total paralysis of East-West trade . . . ready to classify even babies' dummies as strategic goods".

DO YOU KNOW?

EDVARD A. SHEVARDNAZE, the new full Politburo member of the Central Committee of the Communist Party and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, holds the title of Lt. General of Internal Service (the Militia or regular police, the auxiliary of the KGB). After 1968 Mr Shevardnadze became Minister of Internal Affairs (MVD) of the Georgian SSR. He was also a member of the Military Council

of the Transcaucasian Military District.

Mr Shevardnadze has also been active in Soviet front organizations such as the Afro-Asian People's Solidarity Organization (AAPSO), the most aggressive front supporting so-called national liberation and other movements. He is a member of the Praesidium of the Soviet Committee for Solidarity with Asian and African Countries. His foreign travel consists of visits to Austria, Brazil, Bulgaria, Hungary, Portugal and Tunisia.

NOVOSTI : FOREIGN PROPAGANDA AND ACTIVE MEASURES

The Novosti Press Agency (APN) is described and often accepted as an 'unofficial' or 'semi-official' Soviet organization. In fact, the agency is a major instrument of the Kremlin in implementing and conducting Active Measures. It also has a definite and avowed role as a propaganda instrument of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU). (See *Counterpoint*, No. 1)

In 1980 Spartak Beglov, Novosti's chief political observer, brought out a book, *Foreign Policy Propaganda: An Outline of Theory and Practice*. In February 1985, five years later, this book was reviewed by *Sovetskaya Rossiya*. This practice is not uncommon and proves useful to the regime when the hierarchy wish to revive or give greater emphasis to important themes of the day. The Soviets are stepping up their counter-propaganda effort and the revival of Beglov's book could be seen as the corollary of this.

The book "sets out the history of the emergence of foreign policy propaganda as a form of inter-state relations and of ideological-political struggle in the international arena and analyses the doctrines and practice of the imperialist centres and mass media." Beglov stressed that "Soviet foreign policy propaganda unswervingly

followed the basic principles worked out by Marx, Engels and Lenin, which are guidance for the action of every communist propagandist, namely: adherence to Party principles, internationalism, and a class approach to propaganda and the offensive nature of propaganda - both of which arise from this - truthfulness, scientific and specific content and comprehensibility."

Beglov, according to the June 1978 issue of *Zhurnalist*, was said to be "a permanent commentator for the Finnish *Uusi Suomi* which regularly prints his column; in Denmark the newspaper *Information* publishes him; in Norway the left-wing newspaper *Arbeiter Avisen*; in Sri Lanka, the *Daily News*; in Indonesia, the *Indonesian Observer*."

Additionally, Beglov has published, on an *ad hoc* basis, in *Le Monde*, *The Australian*, *Dagens Nyheter* and the *Washington Post*. He pointed out in *Zhurnalist* that "Sovietologists" have to be opposed with "direct counter-propaganda". He also wrote that "not infrequently one has to have recourse to the method of writing a letter to a newspaper such as *The Times*, which might not publish an article but will print a letter"

Novosti's subservience to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CC CPSU) was openly acknowledged with the agency being presented with the Order of Red Banner of Labour on 23 November 1984.

The presentation ceremony was addressed by Mikhail Zimyanin, Secretary of the CC CPSU, on behalf of the Central Committee, Praesidium of the USSR Supreme Soviet and Soviet Government. Zimyanin is responsible for overseeing the Central Committee's Propaganda Department, the Science and Education Establishments Department and the Culture Department.

Novosti is run directly by the CC CPSU

through its International Information Department (IID). The main channel for day-to-day control is thought to be Karen Khachaturov, Deputy Chairman of the agency, and a member of the Directorate of the IID.

One of the responsibilities of Novosti is the organising of visits to the Soviet Union by foreign journalists -- of which there were about 2,000 in 1983. These visits are organised by a special section of the agency which is closely supervised by the Second Chief Directorate of the Soviet State Security Committee (KGB). This allows the KGB to identify and recruit possible agents of influence who, through their position, could handle and place KGB-inspired articles.

Pavel Alexeyevitch Naumov, Chairman of the Novosti Board worked in the Party Central Committee's International Department in the mid-1960s and then for two years as a Secretary of the International Communist journal, *Problems of Peace and Socialism (World Marxist Review)*, in Prague. From 1969 to 1977 he was Editor of the Soviet international affairs weekly, *Novoye Vremya (New Times)*. Naumov is active in the Soviet 'peace' propaganda campaign. He is Deputy Chairman of the Soviet Peace Committee and head of its Media Commission, and a member of the Executive Committee of the International Institute for Peace (IIP) in Vienna, a subsidiary of the major Soviet front organisation, the World Peace Council (WPC).

One of Naumov's predecessors as head of Novosti was Ivan Ivanovitch Udaltsov, a senior KGB officer who had been Minister-Counsellor in Prague at the time of the Soviet invasion in 1968. In March 1976, after leaving Novosti, he was appointed Soviet Ambassador to Greece, where his KGB connections were thoroughly exposed in the Greek press and led to questions in the Greek Parliament, and to Udaltsov being reprimanded by the

Greek Foreign Minister.

The KGB uses the posts of Novosti correspondents as cover, often to conduct covert propaganda, disinformation and subversion. The most recent case of this practice being exposed was in May 1983 when Alexei Dumov, the bureau chief of Novosti in Berne, was expelled for "repeated and increasingly serious interference in Swiss external affairs" and the office itself closed down. Dumov had made consistent efforts to influence the Swiss peace movement.

INDIA : CASHING IN ON DISASTER

It is no surprise that the Air India jetliner crash was followed by a Soviet campaign to implicate the West. This time it was impossible to blame the West directly since various terrorist groups claimed credit. Predictably the Soviet media were forced to suggest that Western countries were supporting the groups concerned.

This device is not new. The Soviet media and their friends tried to implicate the United States in the assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi (see *Counterpoint* Vol 1, No 1) and various Western Nations in the recent spy scandal (see *Counterpoint* Vol 1, No 2). By the same logic the US government would be responsible for the activities of the Symbionese Liberation Army and Great Britain would be responsible for IRA terrorism.

TASS reported on 26 June that 'The All-India Peace and Solidarity Organisation' (an affiliate of the Soviet-controlled World Peace Council (WPC)) has accused the governments of the United States, Canada, and Britain of openly conniving with anti-Indian terrorists. The report claimed that because "extremists operating in those countries" have not been arrested for advocating a separate state of Khalistan, the governments of these states should be considered "accom-

plices in the heinous crime".

This parallels a more direct attack on Britain, following Indira Gandhi's death, in *Sovetskaya Rossiya* which noted that "an unscrupulous anti-Indian game is also being played in Britain." In the Air India disaster, too, indirect accusations have been made. Kuhanandan Nair of *The Daily*, (Bombay) makes the accusation that "experts believe that the highly sophisticated electronic timing devices on the powerful transistor bombs might have been manufactured by CIA's top secret technical department for dirty tricks. These unidentified 'experts' seem to have spoken only to Mr Nair, no other reporting on their speculation having appeared in the world press.

In case unsupported allegations of this type failed to convince, another line of thought is sometimes offered: TASS reported on 11 June that "the four Punjab extremists accused of plotting to assassinate Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi . . . have studied at a terrorist training centre in Alabama . . . But it is known that it is US secret services that direct terrorist training centres in US territory and hence are actual accomplices in the plot."

No doubt Service A of the KGB's First Chief Directorate decided that the FBI's warning to Mr Gandhi about the plot against him would, owing to insufficiently wide publicity, be ignored. Experts on Soviet disinformation believe there may however have been some debate in Service A about the danger of these propaganda lines rebounding on the Soviet Union itself. As the western press reported early in July "the radical Sikhs who have been trying to infiltrate the United States and Canada illegally since 1982 have almost all spent long periods behind the Iron Curtain."

PARTY PROPAGANDA SPECIALIST SENT TO HUNGARY

The appointment, announced by TASS on 21 July, of a new Soviet Ambassador to Hungary may indicate a further determination by Moscow to impose strict ideological conformity on the other Warsaw Pact countries.

The new Ambassador in Budapest is to be Boris Ivanovich Stukalin (62) who since December 1982 has occupied the important post of Head of the CPSU Central Committee's Propaganda Department. Although no higher in the Party hierarchy than an ordinary Central Committee member, he was given this job, which put him in control of all Soviet press, broadcasting and publishing activities, in one of the first major personnel changes made by Yuri Andropov after he had become General Secretary in November 1982.

Stukalin is thought to be an active and effective organiser and has wide experience in ideological and propaganda work, having served, for example, for five years (1965-1970) as Deputy Chief Editor of *Pravda* and for ten years (1972-1982) as Chairman of the State Committee for Publishing, Printing and the Book Trade. He is thus well acquainted with the Soviet overt and covert 'Active Measures' campaigns.

He is also well qualified as an Ambassador to a Warsaw Pact country, having travelled extensively in Eastern Europe (as well as in the West). Since March 1984 he has been Chairman of the Soviet-Czechoslovak Friendship Society. He attended the July 1984 Conference of bloc Central Committee Secretaries for propaganda and ideological questions in Prague, where Soviet policy decisions on such topics are passed on to the other countries for implementation.

Nevertheless the appointment is a step down for Stukalin. Heads of Central Committee Departments are ranked alongside USSR Ministers for protocol purposes

and in reality they have even more power since they are the ones who give Government Ministers their instructions.

He will, however, retain his status as a full member of the Central Committee and his return to a position of influence cannot be excluded. It is possible that in choosing Gorbachov for this appointment, Gorbachov was seeking someone close to current Politburo decision-making whose brief will be to keep a careful watch on the limits of Hungary's economic experiments and ideological latitude.

There have been a number of indications of a tougher Soviet attitude towards their Warsaw Pact allies since Gorbachov came to power in March. Gorbachov's first speech as Party Leader, to the Central Committee Plenum which elected him, on 11 March, described the "first precept of the Party and the state" as being "to strengthen in every way fraternal friendship with our closest comrades-in-arms and allies - the countries of the great socialist community".

The theme was echoed at the 40th CMEA session on 25 June and a clear and authoritative statement of Soviet thinking appeared in *Pravda* on 21 June under the pseudonym *O. Vladimirov*. This article, which appeared to criticise the Hungarian economic reform as "revisionist" but was ignored by the Hungarian media, used such coded expressions as "defending socialist gains" (the 'Brezhnev doctrine of limited sovereignty' used to justify the invasion of Czechoslovakia) and the Russian word *zakonomernosti*, meaning the 'general laws' of the socialist system which the CPSU insists must apply in all the bloc countries. The article stressed that because "imperialist pressure on world socialism is now unprecedented in nature" the "small" bloc countries should avoid economic reform which weakens central state control, reject nationalism, easily perverted into "anti-Sovietism", and leave East-West diplomacy to Moscow rather than entertaining any ideas of acting as mediators.

AFGHANISTAN: DIVIDE AND CONQUER

Under Soviet Bloc direction the Afghan media have become potent weapons for Babrak Karmal's government in Afghanistan. To buttress a sophisticated disinformation campaign, radio and television have been given increased budgets and larger staffs, as have newspapers and magazines. The satellite network which has relayed Soviet programmes into Afghanistan since 1982 has been supplemented by three Soviet-funded television studios and two radio studios. Since 1983 East German specialists have trained dozens of journalists. In early 1984 the radio, television and publications divisions of the Afghan Information and Culture Ministry were reorganised and placed under the direct supervision of high-ranking Soviet officials.

Recent months have seen a new emphasis on regional programming. Regional television stations at Kandahar and Jalalabad in the south and east, and Herat in the west, which have been in operation since 1983, were joined last February by a fourth station at Ghazni, south-west of Kabul. Three more regional stations are under construction, at Badakhshan and Balkh in the north, and at Farah in the south-west.

Experts familiar with Soviet internal disinformation technique believe that administrative reforms and a new emphasis on regionalism have been designed to achieve linguistic fragmentation. Since several languages are spoken in Afghanistan the Russian language - which is now mandatory in all school curricula - will become Afghanistan's only *lingua franca*.

Experts on Afghanistan have confirmed that Afghans now receive a stream of material from translation centres in Tashkent and elsewhere, reminding Afghans, especially in the northern half of the country, of their ethnic and cultural ties with the same ethnic groups in the Soviet Union.

In addition to encouraging ethnic and cultural diversity as a means of undermining the unity of resistance, the disinformation campaign tries to convince Afghans and the outside world that the Karmal regime is winning the war. Refugees are encouraged to return home and border tribes are warned not to permit 'counter-revolutionary' forces across their territory.

With these themes as a steady undercurrent, Afghans are being treated to a sophisticated mixture of propaganda and entertainment on radio and television. The political message is balanced with entertainment, primarily traditional Af-

ghan songs and dances performed by highly paid artists who have acquired a national following.

Broadcasting directed to Afghans outside the country has increased from 29 hours in 1983 to 40 hours daily. Emotional songs woo refugees who are usually described as "these poor people who are far away from the motherland".

Religious programming has become increasingly important as the regime seeks to manipulate the traditional influence of religious leaders. Many have been paid or forced to broadcast favourable comments about the government.

BROTHERS

The Russian populist and Great Dissenter of the nineteenth century, Alexander Herzen, who lived as an emigrant in London from 1852 to 1864, described the revolutionaries of his time as follows:

"Every one of them had some tic and apart from that personal tic they all had one in common, a devouring, irritable and distorted vanity. . . . All of them were hypochondriacs and physically ill, did not drink wine, and were afraid of open windows. . . . They reminded me of monks who from love for their neighbours came to hating all humanity. . . . One half were

constantly repenting, the other half constantly chastising." (A. Herzen, *My Past and Thoughts*, abridged and edited by Dwight Macdonald, New York: Knopf, Vintage, 1974, p. 675)

Karl Marx hated Herzen. The two, who lived in London at the same time, never met. When Herzen wanted to join an emigre organisation in London, Marx objected and wrote to Engels: "I have no desire to see our Europe renewed by Russian blood." (Letts, 1885, *Werke*, (East) Berlin: Dietz, 1976-68, Vol. 28, p. 454)

Subscription Rates for 1 year (12 issues) first class inland, airmail overseas: £25 or \$35

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Produced by Fordwich Typesetting and J & F Lockwood, Bridge, Canterbury

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